838 /155 cont./ 2. J. A. Slot: see Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië, Vol. 75, pp. 811 ff.

838 548 Kawe kawe can be encountered in Macassar and in the large pasar places of /156/ South Celebes as male prostitutes who make themselves available in exchange for money for the performance of sexual acts. In some cases it appeared that these were young men who in their own kampong in the interior had a position analagous to that of Taking. They elected to live in a large place without their kinsmen rather than in their kampongs, where their activities are, as it were, constantly controlled and their sexual needs satisfied with greater difficulty.

[178] It may be assumed that the individuals who, in earlier times, showed homosexual tendencies and then found a place as bissu at the royal courts now populate the marketplaces as male prostitutes.

535 857 In this section on homosexuality, the Masri dance needs to be mentioned. The dancers are little boys from eight to twelve years of age. They dance in the simplest manner by tripping back and forth in a circle on a small surface and at the same time moving their hands and arms back and forth to the beat of the music. In so doing they do not strive for [534] any particular ideal of technique or beauty. A drum (rabana) and possibly a violin accompanies them. At the same time [533] they sing the little four-line verses (kelong) which are customary between young men and women. In this dance they are to a certain extent disguised. Around the head they have folded [838] a white cloth which likewise partly covers the face, thus a [832] kind of veil. The sexual stimulation which proceeds from the combination of verse, rhythm, and the little boys half-disguised as women, is the main thing.

177 535 838 The dance seems to have become known in South Celebes around 1928, and at that time it seems to have attained a

838
793/158 cont./ a bissu as long as he merely conducts himself
644 half as a man and half as a woman during the ritual.

The bissu institution gave a number of kawe kawe the opportunity of acquiring a social standing which they never would have acquired if they had remained in their own kampong.

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548 The kawe kawe did not disappear with the disappearance of the bissu-institution, however. At present, insofar as they did not remain in their kampongs like Taking, they live as prostitutes in the marketplaces. However, in their kampongs the opportunity for sexual satisfaction is extremely restricted because contact with women is practically out of the question and contact with male relatives or kampong fellows is disapproved. This would easily make the migration to the
[839] pasar places comprehensible. Mutual masturbation seems to be the customary method of satisfying sexual needs.

/159/ The accentuated masculine personality idea leads
838 a number of boys to attach themselves socially to girls and women. The strict sanctions concerning contact with women force these men, once they have been accepted into the group of the women, to turn to their own sex for sexual satisfaction.

Unmarried People

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589 In a discussion of the position of unmarried men and women in kampong Bontoramba, it must first be indicated
885 who is included in this term. Widowers, widows, and divorced men and women are for the time being left out of consideration. For the census of 1930 the rule was adopted "that adulthood in the case of girls begins with marriageability, and in the case of boys with the ability to work" (1). Just a little further

1. Volkstelling 1930,
Part 5, p. 54.

158 /166 cont./ should like to mention the vertical tendency
181 which demands of the Makassarese a constant striving to surpass other men and to be a great conqueror of women. The anxiety about losing the ability for this, or else of falling short in this aspiration, could very well form the basis for the koro phenomenon.

Prostitution

548 Prostitutes are unknown in Makassarese kampongs. There
626 are no women under thirty-five to forty years of age who live
558 alone without kinsmen, and if a woman lives with others in a house, it is impossible for her, for reasons discussed at length above, to receive men more or less regularly, or to have contact with them outside the house. So long as she lives in a house with others, even a single contact situation would cause the young male house mates or neighbors to become siri'. The older women who do not wish to risk any difficulties on behalf of this stranger in such a case will try to send her away in time -- for instance, to a head who lets her marry -- before a brawl could come about through her /167/. Once she is out of the house, there is no reason for the young men who, after all, are not related to her, to be siri' because of her behavior.

Her conduct impairs the social standing of her group, and for that reason she is unacceptable in the rural kampongs. There is little evidence of moral disapproval.

548 Prostitution is an urban phenomenon. Prostitutes live in
[369] Macassar as well as in the larger pasar places such as Parepare, Watampone, and others.

The pasar place of Bontomanai, the center of trade for Borongloë, did not seem large enough yet to accommodate permanent prostitution. It was said of one of the daughters of a prominent man in Borongloë, who had gone to live in Bontomanai with a distant relative, that she received men who

548 /167 cont./ gave her little presents. Her father declared her dead, but her brothers did not follow his example. Consequently, there remained the threat of danger. After a few months she fled to Macassar with a man. An ordinary marriage by flight was therefore the end of the adventure of this woman who broke the ties with her parental house in order to gain greater freedom in Bontomanai than would have been possible in the midst of her own relatives.

156 548 It should not be expected that among prostitutes in the large city one will meet the modest, withdrawn types who, in the country, are held up as the ideal to the young girls. Rather one can expect among them those who submit with difficulty to the many restrictions imposed upon them. Further research would have to take place here.

I would venture to suggest that while in western Europe the innocent, misled, middle-class girl is found as well as the girl who becomes a prostitute for economic reasons, in South Celebes where no economic coercion leads to prostitution, women with aggressive characteristics, probably the adventurous type, practice prostitution.

Polygamous Marriage

162 595 As of April, 1940, there were 34 polygamous men among more than 13,000 inhabitants (1) in the adat community of

1. There is no sense in giving figures for polygamous marriages in the kampong Bontoramba. In 1940 there were none, and in 1949 new figures could not be collected after the war for lack of time.

156 /242 cont./ Among the men who possess to a low degree
833 the qualities established as a norm for them, there are to be
838 found the "kawe kawe," the unmarried men, the married men who refuse to have sexual intercourse with their wives, and possibly the koro patients. It is impossible for me to indicate the boundary between a lack of the qualities demanded by the culture and a supposed lack.

156 Among the women who possess the qualities ascribed to
[548] them to a small degree, one finds the prostitutes and also matrons and bride's mothers, and those who perform the ancestral ritual, all of whom owe their standing to their work, which serves to raise the standing of the community. Among these there are also the princesses, who in these countries frequently played a dominant role. Among females in this
[562] position there is none of the docility left, which is expected in women.

/248/ Appendix

114 Figures drawn from registers constitute a welcome addition
127 to the data that could not have been obtained otherwise, or only with great difficulty through verbal information. However, in making use of register material, there is a danger that the degree of its reliability will not be sufficiently realized.

Data based on registers always make a precise impression. The collector is inclined to believe in their reliability himself. But the reliability can only be judged through an acquaintance with the culture in which they are used. A number of "mistakes" in the registers can be immediately understood as a result of ideas present in that culture. They raise the demand for care in the comparison of figures with other regions.

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, and the like brought up further questions. 000 [838] 304 881 574 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them. 565 562

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the outside they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f. 50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts. 527 574 548 435 567 535

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident. 554 565

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. [obligations reflecting respect for higher rank] 178 466 622 565

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a feast. 533

771 are 100 per cent Mohammedan, and though the Toradja here
178 were originally not Mohammedan, they become so very
182 rapidly. I am told that in the Mohammedan religion there is no pressure on anyone to join up (which I know is wrong). As for pagan elements, it is hard to explain, as the translation or translator used the term "kafir" for pagan and this means any non-Mohammedan. (Maybe there is no term for pagan in the language?) Anyway, they finally saw what I meant. They saw that the bissu concept is pagan, and admitted that the
776 Mohammedan authorities do not like it very much. As for the spirits, the younger generation knows little about them (maybe the ordinary kampong youth know more than those that I have talked with). However the old Kepala kampong knew plenty. He laughed and brightened as I read the names of them. Thus he knew pemali, as did Andi. Both knew saradasi, and also radja eroe. They knew dewata or rewata. Also knew several others. The Kepala kampong knew paeppo, but called them popo, as did the Makassarese. In all spirit cases, he made the noise they make, usually a rather piping or whistling noise. He knew parrakang and pontiana. Also
[861] tampakoro, but added that he had not seen them. In some of these cases, Andi said that the spirits are boogey men used now to scare the children, and it may be that a lot of the "spirits" in ethnography are merely that. Thus a Tibetan ethnographer in the United States might hear a lot about Santa Claus, the boogey men, the sandman, and so forth, and go back and write about the spirits of the Americans. The Kepala
838 kampong also knew the Asu panting. As for the bissu, which
793 is the name given them when they are state officials, I got
●548 much here, and also later from the Sulewatang. The homo-
535 sexual ones are called wandu or tjalabai. They are all over,
[759] it is said. As related, when they are in the service of an aradjang, of Bone or of a wanua or of a smaller unit, they are called bissu. But ordinary ones do medical practice, and also hire out as dancers, etc. They go all over, for example, to Buton Island. Andi said he was ashamed of them. They know no shame. But the Kepala kampong seemed to think all this was only funny. He and Andi, laughing hard, imitated them with their swishing, their swaying, coyness, coquetry, etc. Andi said that they usually have plenty of money, and that they are smart. I gathered that they got much as ronggeng [dancing girl] and also (new information) that they act as homosexual prostitutes. Andi said that many men go for them and are willing to pay as much as a f.100 a night for them. He said a man might get so infatuated that he would sell his rice fields and everything to give to a loved wandu. He personally was revolted by this idea. He also

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evidently a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and shook them saying that they did this. This proves shamanism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the singing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on today. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They didn't even know that their script was from India.

793 838 548● 535 [791] 212 171

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

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Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mystic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real debates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

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I did not get very much good material on the death cult. Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. They said that women have two stones, and men only one! There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of great people with requests, as in Makassar.

764 562 178 554 782 796

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general impression is that the only change that has taken place has been the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

517 546

764 hundred years old and may show that Mohammedanism here
174 came in a little later than in Goa. These tombs seem to date from the period of conversion to Mohammedanism, judging from the dates, especially in Goa. In this cemetery there are also modern, ordinary graves.

The Kepala kampong said that before the war there were many fine urns on the tombs, but the Dutch controleur had taken them. Later on van Heekeren told me that the Japanese took a lot of these urns too.

346 We went to look at the old and the new mosques. Both have
174 urns on top, as in Goa. The one on the old mosque has blue and white figures on it; the one on the new mosque is brown, apparently of a solid color. I asked van Heekeren, and he said that all mosques have these urns, even in the Paloppo and Luwu areas. He says that these urns are of Chinese origin and were formerly used to hold the ashes and charred bones (i.e., some of the bones) of the cremated bodies, before Islam came in. Van Heekeren is sure that there is not very much Hindu influence here; the urn burial trait is not
[126] Hindu but merely pre-Islamic Makassarese and Buginese. I took some photographs and gave some polaroid prints to the Kepala kampong, of him and his wife in Hadji dress, with their little daughter (perhaps one and a half years old, who waves when you say dag [hello or good-bye--Analyst]).

000 While we were talking about slaves an old fellow came in and stood at the foot of the stairs mentioning something to the Kepala kampong. He was the slave of the assistant chief (seriang). They talked in a very low whisper.

838 Talking with Andi, I brought up the homosexual matter
793 again. He maintains that homosexuals are numerous here.
778 The official ones are attached to the aradjang and at the head of them is the puang matoa, chief of the bissu. When the aradjang is taken out, the bissu from many kampongs gather in Watampone and dance. I asked if every wanua has an aradjang. They do not. However, there are some kampongs that have them. The bissu handle and take out these lesser aradjang too. This also would bear research.

838 Andi went on and on about the scandalous behavior of the
548 ordinary homosexuals (tjalabai). They dress and act like women and are found everywhere. There are many in Watampone. They swish and flirt and stick rolled up handkerchiefs in their blouses to imitate breasts. Andi says that many men are crazy about them and spend lots of time and money to have sex with them. He was surprised that I had seen none. I do remember at the pasar malam that I had seen a "girl" in a bright red blouse (kabaya), and a well painted face. "She"

M 838 548 had looked boldly at me, unlike most women here. Maybe she was really a girl, but a prostitute, but on the other hand it may have been a homosexual. I know I was impressed by the frank stare and thought I noticed something a bit odd about the person.

The doctor told me that one day a soldier came in with gonorrhea and that he was on the trail of the woman carrier. So there are prostitutes here.

M 285 435 On the way back I stopped to look at an orchid fiber basket woven with a pretty design and colors. The price was f. 0.60. Andi wanted a photograph of me to keep, so I gave him one.

C 117 I left Watampone on Sunday, October 9, two weeks late. I will be able to get a ship going to Ambon on October 14 or 15 which is good, because it means I will have lost only two weeks.

Makassar: I went to the KPM and found that the Raeal sails for Ambon on the 14th or 15th. I can stay there until December 17, returning to Makassar December 20. Then I will sail to Sumbawa on December 23, arriving December 24. I still do not know of any later sailings. This means I will cut Sumbawa short, but have a full two months period in Ambon. I also went to Fort Rotterdam and talked with Rahim.

C 172 114 [171] I had a talk with van Heekeren who is delighted at the results of his trip to a neolithic site in Galumpang. He is somewhat irritated because the government will not give him more money for this research. They seem to spend most of their funds for restoring monuments. This checks with my complaint about Dutch archeology. Formerly they spent lots of time and money on Hindu-Javan remains but little on the prehistoric. Van Heekeren tells me that he has to spend a great deal of his own money. His budget is very low, but even at that he cannot get more funds. He has two other sites located along the Karama River. He said that the layers are not very thick, made up mostly of limestone and rubble. He said that these are the first neolithic sites to be worked in Indonesia. He had all of the stone materials out on a table. Included were arrow points, adzes (he said that they were the first ones found in Indonesia [??]), axes, grinding stones, and a remarkable all-stone tapa beater with grooves, which he said is like the beaters found in the Philippine Islands. There were also lots of sherds, with pretty designs. Many of these designs are similar to those used by the Toradja today, especially on cloth.